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A

MODEST ENQUIRY

INTO THE

PRESENT STATE

OF

FOREIGN AFFAIRS;

FOUNDED on FACTS,

AND

Intended to open the Eyes of the NATION to their TRUE INTEREST.

By a LOVER of his COUNTRY.

The Snare is broken and we are delivered.

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A

MODEST ENQUIRY

INTO THE

Preſent State of FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

IT is a Maxim equally true in *Philoſophy* and *Politicks*, that *Evils*, eſpecially great Ones, *cure* themſelves; which ſhews the *Superiority* of the *Divine Wiſdom* that provides for the Safety of Mankind, even in thoſe Caſes wherein they employ their whole Force in contriving the *Ruin* of *themſelves*. I have often *thought* that this is *now*, and I am *fully perſuaded* that it will be *ſome time* or *other*, our Caſe with Regard to *Foreign Affairs*; by which I mean that the *very Pains* that is taken to *delude* and *lead us wrong*, will raiſe ſuch a *Spirit*, as muſt at laſt bring us into the *right Road*. A

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fallacious Eloquence may for a time not only deceive *particular People*, but blind even a *whole Nation*, not of *Brutes* or *Barbarians*, for they are not capable of being led by *Words*, but muſt be driven by *Blows*, but of Men *conceited* of their *own Wiſdom*, who are proud of and boaſt of their Freedom, tho' that *Freedom* perhaps conſiſts in no more than a Power of *forging* their *own Chains*.

The Law of *Self-Preſervation* is very juſtly held the *firſt* Law of Nature. Such as have enquired deeply into the Spring of human Actions, have reſolved them all, or at leaſt the far greateſt Part of them, into the *Conſequences* of *Self-Love*. At the Bottom this is the *Principle* of all *Morality*, and therefore he who knew our Nature beſt, laid it down as the beſt Definition of Charity, *that we ſhould love our Neighbours as ourſelves*. In like Manner the *Love* of our *Country* is the fundamental Principle of *Politicks* and *Patriotiſm*; and as *true Morality* conſiſts in knowing *how* far and in *what* manner we ought to *love ourſelves*, ſo the *true Art* of *Government* is no more than the *Science* of exerting the *Love* of our *Country* effectually.

As

As it would appear a very outragious *Stretch* of *Charity* to bid us *love* others and *hate* ourſelves, or to exhort a Nation to *work hard*, and then beſtow the *Fruits* of their *Induſtry* on People they new *ſaw*, while their *own Poſterity*, were conſigned to Want and the *wide World*; ſo, except to our *new enlightened Stateſmen*, it muſt appear a very extraordinary *Paradox* in *Politicks* to lay *new Taxes* and increaſe *old Debts*, and that too on a Nation quite exhauſted, for the *Benefit* of *other Nations*, who are in a much *better Condition* to *help themſelves*. Yet ſo it is, that this wild Doctrine has not only been *preached* but *practiſed*, and that too with ſuch *Succeſs*, as to overturn the *Common Senſe* of a whole People, and to beget *an Opinion* that ſuch only are fit to have the *Direction* of *Publick Affairs*, as mind *every thing* but the *Affairs* of the *Publick*.

When theſe *Paradoxical Notions* were firſt ſtarted they met, as it was very natural for them to meet, with an almoſt *General Oppoſition*; to ſoften which particular Methods were uſed to particular Men, and a *new Syſtem* was framed to *amuſe* the *Maſs* of the *People*. They were told of a *Ballance* of *Power*, the

Independency of *Europe*, the *Proteſtant Cauſe*, and a Multitude of *other* things, which though they might have originally *ſome Meaning* in them, yet have been ſo tortured and toſt about by Politicians, that at preſent I make no ſcruple of affirming it is very hard to know, whether they have *any Meaning* at all; or which is much the ſame thing in other Words, it is very difficult, if not impoſſible, to ſettle their *true Meaning*. Thus under the famous Pacific Adminiſtration of our *Stateſman*, now at *reſt* with his *Fathers*, it conſiſted with the *Ballance* of *Power*, not only to live upon good Terms with the *French*, but to concur with them in humbling the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which was the avowed Deſign of the famous *Treaty* of *Hanover*. Since that Time it has been declared a *Self-evident Truth*, that the *Ballance* of *Power* can be no otherwiſe preſerved than by conſtantly oppoſing *France*, and doing every thing to *aggrandize* the *Houſe* of *Auſtria*, that in its *Omniſcence* that Houſe ſhall think *fit*. The natural Senſe of the *Independency* of *Europe* is, that *every* State ſhould mind its *own* Buſineſs, and every Country ſtudy and purſue its *own* Intereſts; but the modern Interpretation of that Phraſe

is

is juſt the Reverſe, *viz.* that *every State* ſhould forget its *own* Intereſt, and mind that of *its Neighbours*, which is now dignified with the Title of the *Common Cauſe*; as if a new Name would change the Nature of Things, and make Wrong Right, and Right Wrong at the Will of the *Stateſmen* who contrive thoſe Terms. As for the *Proteſtant Cauſe* it ſeems at *preſent* to be a Phraſe *out* of *uſe*, there being *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants* on each ſide of the Queſtion. And thus it plainly appears, that there is no ſuch thing as truſting to *Cant Words*, or general Expreſſions, if we mean to *come* at *Truth*.

But before it was found practicable to root out the *Notions* taught us by Common Senſe, and purſued with the greateſt *Succeſs* by our *Anceſtors*, Abundance of Pains was taken to ſhew us, that our *Felicity* did not depend upon *ourſelves*, but upon *others*; and that therefore it behoved us to ſtudy the *Affairs* of the *Continent*, in order to underſtand thoſe of our *own Iſland*. To the Maſters in this great Art we ſtand indebted for that Sort of *Knowledge*, which is, of all others, the *beſt ſuited* to the *overturning* their Deſign; and it was this that induced me to open theſe Obſervations, with remarking, that

great

great Evils uſually bring along with them their *own Cure*. While People confin'd their Thoughts and Cares to their *proper* Buſineſs, and minded nothing but their *own* Concerns, it was no difficult Matter to *puzzle* them with Stories of Things *abroad*, or to aſtoniſh them with *political Hobgoblins* of this or that Nation's aiming at *Univerſal Monarchy*. But in the Courſe of *two* long general Wars, and about *forty* or *fifty* wiſe Negotiations, this Subject has been ſo *hackney'd*, that every body now ſeems to be as well verſed in *foreign Affairs* as ever their Forefathers were in *domeſtick ones*.

This, as I have hinted, muſt afford us the *true Remedy* for a Diſeaſe that has been ſo long *preying* upon *our Vitals*; and ſince it is become ſo very neceſſary to make ourſelves Maſters of *foreign Politicks*, I think it no difficult Matter to ſhew that the *better* we underſtand theſe, the *more* Reaſon we have to be ſatisfied, that our *Modern Stateſmen* have miſtaken their *own* Art, and have wrought us off *our Legs* to *little* or *no* Purpoſe. I do not at all deſpair of making this out upon their *own* Principles; by which I mean, that tho' their could be nothing more eaſy or more certain than to demonſtrate, from a

View

View of our *own* Affairs, that it is our Buſineſs to *look* at *Home*, and not embarraſs ourſelves with the *Affairs* of our *Neighbours*; yet waving all this, and taking things in the Light in which they ſeem to place them, we may be able, by the very contrary Method, that is, by inſpecting *Foreign Affairs*, and our *Methods* of managing them, to ſhew the *very ſame*. For there is this Advantage attends *Truth*, that look at it on *which* Side you will it is ſtill the *ſame*, and will ſtill diſcover itſelf in whatever *Method* you endeavour to *come at it*; provided you are but in *earneſt* in your Search, and examine Things to the *Bottom*.

That we may proceed regularly, and know what we are about, I think myſelf obliged to ſet out with obſerving, that tho' Nature has placed us in an *Iſland*, yet our *Induſtry* and *Spirit* of *Trade*, has ſo far *annexed* us to the Continent, that we have truly an *Intereſt* in the Affairs of our Neighbours, and are bound to concern ourſelves ſo far with them as to take care that our Subjects may *not ſuffer* by their *Broils*, or the *Glory* of the *Engliſh Nation* be tarniſhed by ſetting down tamely under any *Indignities*. I ſhall readily admit, that *Treaties* of *Commerce* are Bands that we ought

bught to *contract* with our Neighbours, that we are bound to *fulfill* the *Engagements* we enter into of *that kind*, as well as to take care that they alſo ſhall *punctually comply* with what they ſtipulate in regard to *us*. This I conceive to be the *true*, *certain*, and *invariable* Intereſt of *Great Britain* with reſpect to *other* Countries; and this I take to be the *only Rule*; that *ſuch* Stateſmen as mean *well* to their *Country* can lay down to themſelves; becauſe, as I ſaid before, it is *certain* and *invariable*. It will ſerve under *all* Governments; it will ſuit with every *honeſt* Adminiſtration; it ſerves to juſtify *paſt* Reigns; and whatever we may think of it at preſent, it is the *Rule* by which our *Poſterity* will examine the *Conduct* of *all Miniſters* in time to come.

I call this Rule *certain* and *invariable* for the Reaſons abovemention'd, as well as for theſe that follow. The *Freedom* of this Nation, as it roſe ſo it muſt be maintain'd, by a large *Share* of *Property* in the Hands of active, induſtrious, and publick ſpirited *Members* of *Society*, which is the Reſult of a *flouriſhing Commerce*. It was this that gave us *Freedom*, and it is this, and this alone, that can ſupport it. On the other Hand, it is the Intereſt of this Com-

Commerce that connects us with *other Nations*, that unites us not only to the *Continent* of *Europe*, but to *Asia* and *Africa*, and more *intimately* than with any of these to *America*. To preserve this Connection therefore, and to preserve it in such a manner as may be *beneficial* to the *Inhabitants* of *this Island*, without which it is not worth preserving at all, we ought to endeavour to be on the best Terms possible with *all Nations*, that they may be willing to do us *good*, and to be always in such a Situation at *Home* as that they may be *afraid* of doing us *hurt*. These are very *short* and *plain* Maxims, but they are nevertheless *true* for all that, and so I doubt Experience will shew us.

But though the Interests of a Nation are *settled* and *invariable*, those of *Princes* and *Ministers* are very unsteady and unsettled things; and in respect to *foreign* as well as to *domestick* Affairs, they very frequently change, sometimes to such a Degree as to be directly *opposite* to *those* of their *Country*. But if Princes have themselves Talents sufficient, or pick up Ministers that have such Talents, they sometimes find a way to blend their *own* foreign *Views* and *Interests* so effectually

with *thoſe* of the Nation, that the People are at firſt brought by Degrees to conſider them not only as *united* but *inſeparable*, and at laſt miſtake *one* for the *other*. This was our Caſe (for the ſhorteſt way to prove things is to appeal to Facts) in the Days of *William* the *Conqueror*. He involv'd us in all the Quarrels of *Normandy*, and it muſt be confeſs'd with greater Colour of Reaſon than we have been involv'd in ſome later Diſputes; for he had firſt given the *Land* of this Kingdom to *Normans*, and it was but natural that they ſhould employ their *Foreign Acquiſitions* in the Cauſe of their *Native Country*. We were again in this Situation in the Time of *Henry* V. He took it into his Head to intereſt the *Engliſh* Nation in raiſing his Family to the *Throne* of *France*, and in a Fit of *Romantick Loyalty* they exhauſted their Blood and Treaſure to bring it about; but when they had waſted the *Flower* of *their Youth*, and had almoſt ſpent their *laſt Shilling*, they found out that they had been fighting againſt their *own* Intereſt, fighting to make their *Country* a *Province*, and themſelves *Slaves*; upon which ſome *honeſt* Men and *good* Patriots told his Son roundly, that he had better wave his Title to *France*, tho' he

he had been crown'd at *Paris*, for that they were not bound by the Conſtitution to ſerve his Majeſty out of his *Engliſh Dominions*. This *Evil* befell us the third Time under *Henry* VIII. the firſt *Engliſh* Monarch that ever run *Ballance mad*, and took it into his Head to give *Law* to all *Europe* —— for this wiſe Reaſon —— That perhaps *ſomebody elſe* might *do* it. He had the Honour, at his firſt mounting the Throne, to be the *richeſt* King we ever had; he *drew* out of the *Purſes* of his Subjects *more* than all his Predeceſſors had done before, and after *debaſing* his *Coin*, and filling the Nation with *Blood*, he died in *Debt*.

But it muſt be allow'd, that we are not the *only* Nation that have ſuffer'd by ſuch Miſtakes. The Emperor *Charles* V. actually ſubverted the *Liberties* of *Spain*, and took all the Pains he could to do *as much* by thoſe of *Germany*, while at the ſame time he was indefatigable in protecting the *Liberties*, promoting the *Trade*, and ſecuring the *Welfare* of his little *hereditary* Dominions of the *Low Countries*. It was *natural* for him to do this, though nobody will ſay it was *laudable*. He had drawn his *firſt Breath* in them, and they maintain'd their Place in his *Heart* and his

Affections till he *breath'd* his *laſt*. But his Cares were fruitleſs, his Endeavours were vain; his *favourite Countries* were the better for him only during his Life-time, but the Miſchiefs brought upon *Spain* and *Germany* by thoſe Endeavours, are *felt* to this Day. The *Spaniſh Cortes*, once equivalent to an *Engliſh Parliament*, are now only known to *Antiquaries*; and the preſent *Diſputes* in the *Empire* are apparently owing to no other Cauſe than the *Dread* that ſome of the *German Princes* and States are in of ſeeing the Political Maxims he left to his *Family* exerted once again, in Caſe any *Branch* or *Ally* of it ſhould mount the *Imperial Throne*.

It would be eaſy to give many more Inſtances of this kind, but I will content myſelf with adding only one. There was during the laſt War a famous Memorial prepared for *opening* the *Eyes* of *Lewis* XIV. which roll'd entirely upon *my Maxims*. It was alledged, that while the *War* for the *Spaniſh Succeſſion* ſpoke his Majeſty an *excellent Father* to his *Family*, it at the ſame Time ſhew'd, that for the *ſake* of his being *ſo*, he forgot that he was the *Father* of his *Subjects*. This was then cried up here as a *rational* and *publick-ſpirited*

ſpirited Piece, and a thing, to which, if he had not affected the Title of *Lewis the Great*, rather than that of *Lewis the Good*, he ought to have attended. Yet many plauſible things might be ſaid in *his* Defence. He was far enough from intending to make his *own Kingdom* a *Province*, nor did he ſtake the *Wealth* and *Power* of *France* for any *little pitiful* Territory, by which they never could *be better'd*. On the contrary, he had *Views* in this Reſpect for his *Subjects*, as well as for himſelf and his Family, as we have ſince *felt* to our Coſts. But as I have obſerv'd theſe were plauſible Pretences only, and had I been *born* a *Frenchman* under his Reign, I ſhould certainly wiſhed that he had taken the *Advice* of that *Memorial*, and had ſtudied to govern *well* thoſe Countries, that none of his *Neighbours* would have *diſputed* with him.

By this time I dare ſay that the Reader himſelf has obſerved, that the *real Intereſt* of a Country, with reſpect to its *Neighbours*, is always conſiſtent with its *true Intereſt* at *home*, whereas the *pretended*, *temporary*, and *imaginary* Intereſts, which are invented by *Miniſters*, or are merely *perſonal* with regard to *Princes*, prove the *Ruin* and *Deſtruction* of their People, and

and expoſe them to all the Miſchiefs that can poſſibly afflict the *human Species*. As *Reaſon* will teach him this, ſo *Experience* will confirm him in the ſame Opinion. For when were we more miſerable, poorer, or more diſtreſt, than when the *Conqueſts* of our Monarchs were moſt extenſive; or when freer, greater, or richer, than when the *contrary* Maxims prevailed? The firſt Dawn of *Freedom* and *private Property* was under the Reign of *Henry* VII. who purſued the *real Intereſts* of his Country *abroad*, tho' he was too fond of his *private* and *particular Intereſts* at *home*. He has been always reputed, both among Natives and Foreigners, the *wiſeſt* of our Monarchs; and my Lord *Bacon*, who was perhaps the *wiſeſt Man* of this Nation, wrote his Hiſtory to *prove* it. I have heard many People wonder, why a very *great Wit* within all our own Memories expoſed his own *Judgment* by attacking that *Hiſtory*; but whoever reflects on that Writer's *Scheme* of *Politicks* will eaſily diſcern his Reaſon, which was to *ruin* a *Character*, that ſquared ſo little with the new *Syſtem*. For if *Henry* VII. who intereſted himſelf *ſo little* in *foreign Affairs* (and yet he intereſted himſelf enough for the real Benefit of his Subjects) remain'd

remain'd in Poſſeſſion of ſo *high* a *Reputation*, what was to become of the *Characters* of *thoſe Princes*, that acted on quite *contrary Principles*, and meaſured the *Grandeur* of the *Engliſh Nation*, by the *Feats* performed by *her Forces* in *other* Peoples Quarrels on the *Continent? Truth* in this Caſe has got the better of *Wit*, and notwithſtanding this Attack, both the *King* and the *Chancellor* are eſteem'd as *wiſe* as *ever*.

But to come cloſer to the Point, and enter at once upon our Matter, having already ſhewn, that a Man may be a *good Patriot*, and wiſh extremely well to his *own* Country, without deſiring that ſhe ſhould have the *Direction* of *all* the Countries round her. I proceed to obſerve that the preſent Syſtem with reſpect to *foreign Affairs*, can be only *ſo far* right as it *immediately* concerns this Country. If we are bound to *aſſiſt* our Allies, we can be *only* bound to *aſſiſt* them as *far* as our Abilities will allow, and in *ſuch* a manner as is *moſt conſiſtent* with our common Intereſt. We can never be under any Obligations abſolutely to *ruin* ourſelves for *their Sakes*, or be obliged to *aſſiſt* them in the *ways* they *preſcribe*, if thoſe ways are incompatible with our *own* Welfare, or *beyond* our

Power

Power to comply with, and *preſerve* that *Force* that is neceſſary to our *own* Safety. In the Defence of ourſelves we fight *pro Aris & Focis*, and we muſt *hazard all*, becauſe we are to *defend all*. But no Obligation of this Sort can lie upon us in Favour of *our Allies*, or a *ſeparate Intereſt*, even on the Principle of the preſent Syſtem; for it is ridiculous to *undo* our ourſelves, thro' Fear that ſome Time or other we may have an Enemy ſtrong enough to *undo us*. This can never be *right Policy*, with Reſpect to *ourſelves* or *our Allies*, for if we are *once* undone, we can help them *no longer*. Yet there is no Propoſition in *Euclid* plainer than this, that if we are at preſent at a greater Expence than we can *bear*, which is what *all* Parties *allow*, and which, if I am rightly inform'd, has been confeſs'd by the *firſt Speaker* in *England*, we muſt be *undone*, if we *continue* theſe *Expences*, or run into *greater* from falſe *Hopes* or falſe *Fears*, from ſucceſsleſs Negociations, ill-founded Expectations, or chimerical Suppoſitions.

A Man who ſees, or think he ſees, his Country in ſuch a Situation, muſt certain be a *rotten Member* of *Society*, if he does not endeavour to make this plain to all his

his Fellow-Subjects. He who firſt ſpies a *Leak*, is not only a *Self-Murderer*, if he does not cry out in Time, but is alſo in *Foro Conſcientiæ*, at leaſt, the Author of *thoſe Deaths* that he might have prevented. But granting that he is miſtaken, and the *Leak* is not ſo dangerous as he imagined, his *Zeal* however is commendable, becauſe the Community is ſure to get *ſomething* by it. He who diſcover'd the *Mediterranean Leak*, did his Country good Service; and the Author of that *Gazette*, which ſuggeſted the *Fontenoy Leak*, no doubt thought himſelf in the *right*, and will ſome time or other juſtify the *Principle* upon which he *proceeded*. For my Part I believe there are Abundance of *foreign Leaks*, and I think it my Duty to *expoſe* them. Whether this will contribute to the *ſtopping* them or *not*, is what I dare not determine; but ſure I am that this can never make them wider, and it is from a ſincere Senſe of this, that I am led to expoſe them. If I am miſtaken in *my* Notions, he who *demonſtrates* my *Miſtakes*, will do the *Service* intended, and provided the Nation be but *ſerved*, it is no great Matter by *whom* or *how*; for this too is agreeable to the *Modern Syſtem*, otherwiſe there had never been

ſo much *chopping* and *changing* among the *Great*, or ſuch a Stir kept about *mixing*, when it was found impoſſible to make a *Coalition* of *Parties*.

I have already ſhewn, that with Regard to *foreign Affairs*, we have a certain real and invariable *Intereſt*, and that it is very poſſible, we may have an accidental, temporary, or imaginary *Intereſt*. We will examine things in their natural Order, with reſpect to both theſe Intereſts; and enquire *how far* the States we have had to do with are capable of promoting *either*, what was expedient for us *to do* to procure their *Aſſiſtance*, what we have done in that Reſpect, and how *far* our *Expectations* have been, or are like to be *anſwer'd*. We will likewiſe endeavour to find out, if it be poſſible, whether our Condition has been made *better* or *worſe* by our late vigorous *Operations*, numberleſs *Negociations*, and our ſcarce to be calculated *Expences*. When we have done this, it will appear what we have really to *hope*, what with juſt Grounds we may *apprehend*, and what we may have rationally think will be the *future State* of our *Affairs*.

To begin then with *Ruſſia*. It is plain that the natural Intereſt of this Nation requires

requires we ſhould live in the greateſt Friendſhip with that Power, a thing the more eaſy becauſe it is as much her Concern as ours. In this Reſpect however, our Buſineſs is with the *Nation*, and not with the *Prince*, much leſs with the *Miniſtry*; and therefore according to the Maxims of right Policy, we ought to enter only into *general Engagements* with this Power, which it may be the *Intereſt* of every Government to *fulfil*. The Notion of entring into the *Domeſtick Oeconomy* of that *Empire*, or indeed of any Empire, and pretending to *guaranty* this or that Line of Succeſſion, is repugnant to the Intereſt of a *trading Nation*, which ought not to concern itſelf with particular Notions, or Schemes of Government in diſtant Countries; becauſe this hath a natural Tendency to keep her involved in *perpetual Quarrels* and *Diſputes*; whereas her Intereſt requires that ſhe ſhould live if poſſible in *conſtant Harmony* with *all Nations*, that ſhe may the better enjoy the *Effects* of their *Friendſhip* in the *Benefits* reſulting from their *Commerce*. Reaſon and Common Senſe teaches this, but if it were neceſſary to cite Authority, I might mention that of *De Witt*, who ſays it would be ridiculous for the *Dutch* to con-

cern themſelves in obliging *another Nation* to ſubmit to a *certain* kind of Government, or a *ſettled* Race of Princes, who *owe* their *own* Freedom, Power, and Happineſs, as themſelves profeſs, to the *Change* of their *Conſtitution*, and throwing off the *Yoke* of their *natural Sovereigns*.

This Conduct was ſteadily purſued in the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*, and of her *Succeſſors*, and by purſuing it they preſerved the *Commerce* of their Subjects, notwithſtanding all the *Commotions* to which the Deſpotick Government of that Empire has always rendered it ſubject, and from which it is not likely to be freed. Another Reaſon for adhering to this Maxim is, that we can never receive any *reciprocal* Benefit from *cloſer* Engagements. Mr. *Cowley* in his Comedy, called the *Cutter* of *Coleman-Street*, introduces a Sharper, who lived upon the *Royaliſts*, by flattering them with falſe Hopes during the *Uſurpation*, boaſting of the Aſſiſtance the *Czar* would give to King *Charles* II. *by ſending over* 1200 *Bears to worry the Parliamentarians into their Duty*. This ſhews that *wiſe* Men have been in *all* Ages of the ſame Opinion, and therefore it ſeems very extraordinary, that we ſhould enter into *Engagements* which

which it is in *our* Power, and therefore ought to be in our *Will*, to *perform*; where it is highly improbable from the Circumſtances of things, that the *reciprocal Engagements* made to us ſhould *ever be* complied with. But it may, indeed it has, been ſaid, that with Reſpect to our *Temporary Intereſts*, by which I mean the mighty Concern we have for *Germany*, we might be benefited by ſuch an *Alliance*. A little Conſideration would have ſhewn that this too was *improbable*. The *natural* Intereſt of *Ruſſia* can never lead her to ſuch Meaſures, for while that Power purſues a rational and natural *Plan* of *Politicks*, ſhe will always have a Strength ſufficient to *ſecure herſelf*, and conſequently will ſee no juſt Cauſe to depend upon her *Neighbours*. But *Ruſſia* it ſeems has at preſent a *temporary* and *accidental Intereſt*, which is that of ſupporting the *Houſe* of *Holſtein*; and this is *diametrically oppoſite* to that *temporary Intereſt*, that *we* are ſo *fond* of. I need not take a great deal of Pains to ſhew this, becauſe it is a Point that has been lately and fully diſcuſſed elſewhere; and Experience has convinced us, that notwithſtanding the ſtrong *Aſſurances* given us by our *Miniſters there*, and echoed by our Mini-

Miniſters *here*, the *Czarina* was never diſpoſed to march even the *ſmalleſt Succours* out of her *own* Dominions. To this it may anſwered, that within our own Memory, a *Ruſſian Army* has been ſeen on the *Banks* of the *Rhine*; to which I might reply, that this is one of the beſt Reaſons for our never expecting to *ſee* them there *again*. I beg leave, however to add another Remark, which is, that when theſe *Troops* marched into *Germany*, the *Ruſſian* Empire was governed by a *German Adminiſtration*; the Weight of which was ſo *intolerable* to the *Ruſſians*, that to rid themſelves thereof, was the *ſtrongeſt Motive* they had to venture on the *laſt Revolution*, and therefore the Hopes of ſeeing ſuch Meaſures *reſumed*, depend upon the Subverſion of that *Government*, with which we are at preſent ſo *cloſely* allied.

We have been *often* told, by ſome of our *political Writers*, that the Prime Miniſter Count *B*——— is entirely in *our* Intereſts, which may poſſibly be *true*; but at the ſame time it is very well known, that there is no great *Harmony* among the *Miniſters* there, any more than among the *Miniſters* in *other Courts*; and it is likewiſe certain that Count *Leſtock*, who

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was formerly the *Czarina*'s Surgeon, and is now a great Favourite, is in the *oppoſite Intereſt*; which is likewiſe ſupported by the Princeſs of *Zerbſt*, and all her *Dependants*, that is, all the *Partizans* of the Houſe of *Holſtein*, or in other Words the ſtaunch Friends to the *preſent Government* in *Ruſſia*. The Iſſue then of this Buſineſs, when ſtrictly enquired into, is not either *more* or *leſs* than we might have come at by attending to the true Principles of our *old Policy*. For with Reſpect to the national and invariable Intereſt of *Great Britain*, in regard to the *Commerce* and *Friendſhip* of *Ruſſia*, we have all things to *hope* and nothing to *fear*; whereas in reference to our *temporal* and *accidental* Intereſts, we may frame *Treaties*, conclude *Alliances*, obtain *Acceſſions*, and be never the *nearer* to all that we *propoſe* by them, except it be making a *Flouriſh* at *Home*, and thereby obtaining the *Sums* that are *requiſite*, or *ſaid* to be requiſite, for procuring theſe *imaginary Advantages*. I could ſay many things more upon this Head, and enter into abundance of Particulars, that might *amuſe* and *entertain* the *Reader*; but having already ſaid enough for *my Purpoſe*, I deſiſt.

Within

Within the Compaſs of the laſt Century we have likewiſe *departed* from our *old* Maxims with regard to *Sweden*. It was, and in ſome meaſure it will be always, *our* Intereſt to maintain a *Ballance* of *Power* in the *North*, by preventing the Ambition of *one* Prince from being fatal to *another*; and this has heretofore led us into ſome *vigorous* Operations as *Auxiliaries* only. But in the Memory of *every body*, and for Reaſons ſcarce known to *any body*, we entered into a *War* with *Sweden*, which produced a great deal of *Miſchief* to this *Nation*, and the Acceſſion of *Bremen* and *Verden* to a *certain Power* in *Germany*. We afterwards enter'd into a very *cloſe Alliance* with *Sweden*, granted her *Subſidies*, and took her *Troops* into *our* Pay; but they are extremely miſtaken who fancy that this laid any ſort of *Obligation* on the *Swedes*. On the contrary, that Nation, after *chopping* and *changing* her *Conſtitution* two or three times with very little Advantage to themſelves, began at laſt to apprehend that a *new Succeſſion* would be impoſed upon them through the *Intrigues* of their *Miniſters* with *foreign Courts*. This produced at firſt great *Murmurings* and *Diſputes*, and at laſt a total *Change* in the

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Adminiſtration, the *Power* of the *Crown* by the Conceſſions made to keep out the *old Royal Family* being grown *too weak* to defend its *own* Creatures. By this popular Turn, *that Intereſt*, which we had been ſo long cultivating *there*, was ſuddenly and totally ſubverted, together with *all* the *Schemes* that had been built upon it; and conſequently, the *Subſidies* and other *Expences* we had been at in raiſing this *Structure* were palpably *thrown* away. This ſeems to have been ſo far a Warning to us, that we have not ſince heard of any *new Schemes* for retrieving or reſtoring that Intereſt. It would have been the greateſt Infatuation to attempt it, ſince all we were labouring at for ſo many Years was to prevent *that Succeſſion* from taking place which is now *eſtabliſhed*; and it is to our failing in this reſpect, that ſome penetrating People have attributed our not ſtanding as well at preſent as might be expected with the *Houſe* of *Heſſe*, which is indeed a thing ſo *ſtrange*, that we need not wonder at the different Conjectures that have been framed about it. The Marriage of the *Prince Succeſſor* to a *Princeſs* of *Pruſſia* is another Circumſtance no way favourable to the *new* Syſtem; and from hence it appears, that the

great *good Fortune* of the *Holſtein* Family is directly in the *Teeth* of all our *Views* in the *North*; for as on the one Hand the *Swedes* will never forget that they were once poſſeſt of *conſiderable Dominions* in *Germany*, or how they were *ſtript* of them; ſo on the other Hand, it will be always both the *Intereſt*, and the *Inclination*, of the *Prince Succeſſor* to the Crown of *Sweden* to *recover* them; and he will never want a *Party* in *Germany* to eſpouſe his *Pretenſions*. So that the longer we conſider this Subject, the more manifeſt Reaſons will appear to ſhew the Impoſſibility of our accompliſhing any thing in favour of our *temporary* and *accidental Intereſts*, by *Treaties* of *Subſidy* or *new Alliances* with *Sweden*. We may indeed by ſuch Expedients patch up *old* Quarrels, and ſkin over *old* Sores, but they will be perpetually breaking out afreſh upon every *Turn* of *Affairs*, and conſequently ſuch Endeavours, and ſuch Expences, will be equally *endleſs* and *fruitleſs*, except, as I ſaid before in the Light of Political Amuſements for obtaining extraordinary *Supplies*, or Votes of *Credit*.

But to ballance theſe Miſchiefs, and to afford us a clearer Proſpect on this Side, we need only conſider, that the natural

Intereſts

Intereſts of *Britain* ſo exactly coincide with thoſe of *Sweden*, that we have no Reaſon to apprehend her Ill Will, or the leaſt Coolneſs in her Friendſhip, unleſs we draw it upon ourſelves by entering into *Meaſures* detrimental to her, and no way advantageous to us, which as a *Chriſtian* as well as a *trading People* we ought certainly to avoid; and if there are ſtill any Remains of real Concern for what was formerly ſo dear to us, I mean the Support of the *Proteſtant Intereſt*, we ought to lay aſide all our Prejudices to the Houſe of *Holſtein*, ſince their Advancement to the Thrones of *Sweden* and *Ruſſia* ſeems to be the moſt favourable Event for the *Proteſtant Cauſe*, that has fallen out within this laſt Century. I mention this the rather, that the Nation may be upon its Guard, in caſe any enterprizing Miniſter ſhould amongſt other Political *Paradoxes*, take it into his Head to advance this, that the *Proteſtant Succeſſion* here may require our acting coldly towards or perhaps directly againſt the *Proteſtant Intereſt* abroad, which however *abſurd* in Appearance, *Experience* may teach us to fear, is not altogether *impoſſible*.

The Nature of our Negociations with the Court of *Denmark*, have been for

many Years altogether unſcrutable. The true and national Intereſt of *Great-Britain* obliges us to live in Friendſhip with that as well as other Crowns, and the Alliances between the Royal Families ought in the reaſon of things to ſtrengthen ſuch Engagements. We have formerly ſent Squadrons into the *Baltick*, in Conſequence of our *Alliances*, and in Support of our *Intereſt*, but however it came, or indeed can come to be the Intereſt of *Great Britain*, to take large Bodies of *Daniſh* Troops into her Pay, to *remain* in their *own* Country, or to march into *ſome* Territory adjoining to it, is beyond the Comprehenſion of any Man who has no *other Lights* than thoſe afforded by Reaſon and Experience. But it ſurpaſſes all Belief that we ſhould be reſtleſs and uneaſy, that we ſhould take it ill, and complain of the Court of *Denmark*, that ſhe is *unwilling* to enter into ſuch *Treaties*, and declines our Offers of *paying* her *Troops*, if we were not repeatedly told ſo in almoſt every Article from *Copenhagen* that appears in a *foreign Gazette*. There cannot ſurely be a ſtronger Mark of Viciſſitude in human Affairs. There was a Time, when we would not ſuffer our *Kings* ſo much as to keep a *Troop* of *Horſe*, and

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even endeavoured to take from them their *Power* over the *Militia*, tho' we knew not in what Hands to place it ſo *ſafely* for ourſelves. But now we are not only reconciled to *ſtanding Armies* at *Home* and *abroad*, but we run all *Europe* over, begging and praying that we may have the Honour of *contributing* to *keep* up *ſtanding Armies* in every Country; tho' this *Humour* of *keeping them up* is the ſole Reaſon aſſigned, or that can be aſſigned, for the *vaſt* Expence we are at, and the mighty Inconveniencies we endure, by maintaining *Regular Troops* here at *Home*. It was judged ſome Time ago, that our Influence at this Court would entirely deſtroy that of *France*, and throw the Weight of the *Daniſh* Power into the Scale of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; but this like our other *Expectations* have been fruſtrated *few* People know how. The Truth is, the *Daniſh* Court was drawn into an *extraordinary Project*, much ſuperior to her Forces and Revenues, which after an *immenſe Expence*, and provoking both *Sweden* and *Ruſſia*, ſhe was obliged to abandon, and is now upon her *good Behaviour*, ſo that all our Solicitations are like to be vain on this Side; tho' hereafter if a Demand ſhould be made of the here-

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ditary Dominions of the Imperial Prince of *Ruſſia*, there is no doubt we ſhould be put in mind of our *Guaranty*. Such are the Conſequences of contracting *theſe* Kind of Engagements, ſpecious in *Shew*, but ruinous in *Fact*; ſo that it frequently happens in Countries, that have an Intercourſe in *Trade*, the *Ballance* of *that* is drawn back by a *Treaty* of *Subſidy*, whereas in the *old* Method, a *defenſive Alliance* did the Buſineſs effectually, and the *Ballance* of *Trade* remain'd, where the *Induſtry* of the *People* had *placed* it.

At preſent we have little or nothing to do with the Court of *Poland*, that ancient and famous Kingdom, which *half* a *Century* ago prov'd the real *Bulwark* of *Chriſtendom* againſt the *Turks*, and delivered *Vienna*, when it was on the very Point of being taken, is now become altogether *inconſiderable*; and I ſhould not have ſo much as mentioned it, but to prevent the Reader's being led into a Miſtake by the *Title* of a *late Treaty*, which receives its Name merely from being *ſign'd* at *Warſaw*. It was indeed intended, that the *Republick* of *Poland* ſhould have been a contracting Party, but that was hinder'd by the Confuſions that aroſe in the *Diet*,

Diet, where between *Corruption* and *Faction* it ſo fell out, that there was nothing done either for their *Prince* or for *themſelves*. The whole Buſineſs of theſe People now, at leaſt with regard to *foreign Affairs*, is tranſacted at *Dreſden*; where their Monarch is at *Home*, where his Court appears *with Luſtre*, and where there is always a Handful of the *Poliſh* Nobility, that ſpend the *Income* of their *Eſtates* in that Country, and the *Income* of their *Places* too, in adding to the Magnificence of the *King's Retinue* in his *Electoral Dominions*. The Part we acted in the Affair of the *laſt Election*, was never thoroughly explain'd; it was ſaid by ſome of our *Patriots* then, who have ſhewn themſelves *no* great Patriots ſince, that we promiſed to eſpouſe King *Staniſlaus*, and that we actually aſſiſted King *Auguſtus*; Our Doubleneſs in this Reſpect, might be the more eaſily paſſed by, becauſe in all Probability we could not do much for *either*, but however it is ſaid we did enough to *hurt* ourſelves; ſince it *provok'd* the *French* on the one hand, and ſo *little* obliged King *Auguſtus* on the other, that to be even with us in the beginning of the preſent War, ſome Aſſurances were given not altogether conformable to the Conduct

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that was purſued in the firſt *Invaſion* of *Bohemia*. There are ſtill ſome Expectations kept up of the *Republick*'s arming in ſupport of the *common Cauſe*, but how a Power that has not a *ſingle Man of War*, and whoſe Dominions lie ſo many Hundred Miles from *us*, ſhould be able to render any real Service to the *true* and *natural* Intereſt of *Great Britain* is among the Number of the *Arcana Imperii* known only to *Place-Men*, who would be able no doubt to harangue as learnedly on the great Succours we may expect from *Poland*, as they formerly did on our *Ruſſian* Auxiliaries, when the Cue of the Miniſterial Tribe was, RUSSIA *will do the thing at laſt*. Two or three Years hence perhaps we may hear of Overtures made by the *Khan* of *Crim Tartary*, or their ſerene Highneſſes the *Waywodes* of *Walachia* and *Moldavia*, who in Conſideration of certain *Subſidies* may be content to teach their *Ragamuffins* the ſhorteſt Road into the *Heart* of *Europe*.

Before we proceed to the Affairs of *Germany*, it may be neceſſary to conſider our Intercourſe with the Court of *Pruſſia*; for tho' that Monarch be an *Elector*, and the beſt Part of his Dominions lie within the *Bounds* of the *Empire*, yet he has

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ſhewn ſuch a Spirit of Independency, that it ſeems moſt reaſonable to conſider him *by himſelf*. It was evident enough from the Conduct of his *Father* in the laſt War, that there was a cloſe Connection between *him* and *France*, which ought to have put the Houſe of *Auſtria* and her *Friends* upon their Guard on the Demiſe of the Emperor *Charles* VI. I ſay the Houſe of *Auſtria* and her *Friends*, becauſe *Great Britain* for her own Part can have very little either to hope or to fear from his *Pruſſian* Majeſty. Beſides, on account of his Family we might naturally have expected the *Turn* of the *Scale* in *our* Favour; and that he ſhould rather have inclined to oblige us than not. But whether it was that we hired *every body's* Troops but *his*, that a *Title* was talk'd of, which has ſince been actually *ſet up*, to the Principality of *Eaſt Frieſland*, or whether there were any *ſecret* and more *prevailing* Motives than theſe, ſo it was that he broke with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, notwithſtanding our Interpoſition on her Behalf, which produced a ſtrange Scheme for *conquering* and *diſmembring* his *Dominions*, which tho' in a manner *forgot* here, may ſtill *ſtick* in the Stomach of a Prince of *ſo high Spirit*.

When this Project came to nothing, we for along Time encouraged the Queen of *Hungary* to diſpute his Pretenſions in *Sileſia*, where he might at firſt have been ſatisfied with much leſs than he afterwards *obtain'd*, and that too by our *Mediation*, and under our *Guaranty*, by which we involv'd ourſelves in a *new Scene* of *Diſputes*, for the Sake of obtaining his *Guaranty*, which is never like to produce any *Good* either to our *real* or *accidental* Intereſts. Yet that Treaty was *once* magnified here as a *Maſter-piece* in *Politicks*, in Conſequence of which the Reader may remember that a *large Body* of *Pruſſian Troops* were actually muſter'd in our *News-Papers* among the *Forces* of the *Allies* againſt *France*, at the very Juncture when their *Maſter* was effectually *aſſembling double* the Number in order to invade the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, which he actually did, notwithſtanding the famous Treaty of *Breſlaw*; which with ſo much Aſſurance we were told would *immediately* reſtore the *Peace* of *Germany*, and in Time *that* of *Europe*. This ſhews how myſterious a thing the modern Method is of managing *publick Affairs*, and how eaſily the *wiſeſt Engliſh* Miniſters may be *overreach'd* in their Engagements; for without

out doubt they were *ſincere* in what they *told* their *Countrymen* and the *Parliament* upon this *Occaſion*, and really thought that theſe Treaties would have produced *quite other Effects* than they did.

But the plain Reaſon of all this was, that the King of *Pruſſia* acted upon Motives which were very little conſidered by the *Miniſters* of *that* Country, whoſe Inhabitants were thus *impoſed upon*, and on the contrary he underſtood the *Motives* on which they acted ſo well, that it was impoſſible for them to *miſlead* or *amuſe* him. In ſhort, he was governed by no other Views than the Intereſt of his *own* Government, the Safety of which, he thought, depended in a great Meaſure on the Preſervation of the *Germanick Conſtitution*, which he apprehended would be *totally* deſtroyed if any *Power* in *Germany* could give Law to the *Emperor*. It was this that in ſpight of his Treaty under *our* Guaranty, induced him to invade *Bohemia*, not to aggrandize *France*, but to *leſſen* the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. We indeed ſay that *theſe Phraſes* mean the *ſame thing*, his *Pruſſian* Majeſty thinks *not*, and it is very hard that we will not allow him to know his *own Meaning*, and I doubt it will be a

harder Matter to oblige him to *take up* with *ours*. For any thing, therefore that I can perceive, we are not like to be upon very good Terms with this Prince in haſte; and yet *Great Britain* can never get any thing by being upon *bad* Terms with him; which, if we may believe his *own* Manifeſto, is what he would willingly *avoid*; for therein he profeſſes the *greateſt Reſpect* for this Country, and the utmoſt Concern at finding himſelf obliged to take *another ſide* in the *preſent Diſpute*.

I am very far from ſaying, that we ought *implicitly*, to *believe* what this *Prince* ſays of himſelf; that, perhaps, is what we are not obliged to *do* with Reſpect to *any* Prince; but I ſay, and I ſay it again, that of all the Princes in *Europe*, the King of *Pruſſia* talks in a Stile that *beſt* merits Belief, for he ſays, he is entirely governed by *his own Intereſt*. Now the King of *Pruſſia* is a *Proteſtant*, a Prince of the *Empire*, a Prince that may be affected by any *great Alteration* in the *Ballance* of *Power*, a Prince that does not ſeem at all diſpoſed to be the *Dupe*, much leſs the *Viceroy* of the *French King*; and yet it is very evident, that he is reſolved to exert his utmoſt *Force*, and risk his *whole Dominions*, rather than ſuffer *our* Scheme in *Ger-*

Germany to take *Place*. I infer from all this, that we ought ſeriouſly to conſider, whether the whole *Property* of this *Iſland* ought to be *riſqued* to force the King of *Pruſſia*, to what * may be as little *our* Intereſt as *his:* And in the next Place, this Point, either from *Whim* or *Argument*, from *Reaſon* or *Reſentment*, being carried, may it not next deſerve our Attention; whether it be at all probable that after we and our Allies have exerted our *utmoſt* Strength; we can *carry* the *Point*, and oblige him to accept of *ſuch Terms*, as the Queen of *Hungary* in her Goodneſs ſhall be pleaſed to *grant* him? For though as I ſaid before, the Map of *Europe* plainly ſhews, that *Great Britain* and *Brandenburgh* have not much *Connection*; though it be likewiſe certain, that this Country was very rich and very happy when its *Stateſmen* ſcarce *knew*, there was ſuch a Prince as the *Marquis* of *Brandenburgh*; yet ſo ſtrangely are things changed, that upon the Reſolution of thoſe *two* Queſtions, it in a great Meaſure depends, whether *five* Years hence we ſhall have *Silver* enough in this *Iſland*, to change *one* of our own *Guineas*, if any *Foreigner* ſhould think it worth

* *Prima Facie.*

worth his while to *come hither* with ſuch a *Piece* in his *Pocket*.

As to *Germany* in the *General*, and that *Ballance* of *Power*, which it is neceſſary ſhould be preſerved in the Empire, it is one of Sir *Roger de Coverly*'s Caſes, and a Man inclined to avoid Trouble might very ſafely ſay, in order to get rid of it at once, that *much might be ſaid on both Sides*. I muſt confeſs that I have no Inclination to ſay thing on *either Side*, but as a Native of *Great Britain*, I think it my Duty to ſay, that it is not only againſt the Maxims of *good Policy*, but againſt the Rules of *Common Senſe*; nay, directly contrary to the *Laws* of *Nature*, for us to ſacrifice *ourſelves* in the Cauſe of *Germany*; and run with our Eyes open into ſuch a Condition, as muſt make us an *eaſy Prey* to any *Invader*, to defend the *Rights* of *another People*, or if we may believe the King of *Pruſſia*, to ſerve the Intereſts of a very *inſignificant Part* of *that People*. To be ſatisfied of this, we need only conſider the Matter cooly and *calmly*, and ſure by this time we have loſt *Blood* and Treaſure enough to *be cool*, I ſay we need only do this, and then *Truth* will *ſtare* us in the *Face*.

If

If we ſhould ſuppoſe that the *Germans* were a *ſtupid*, *weak* and *barbarous* Nation, attacked by the *French*, greatly ſuperior to them in *Wealth*, *Power*, and *Underſtanding*, with a View to make them *Slaves*, and to turn their *Force* when made *Slaves* upon all the reſt of *Europe*, it might poſſibly be a reaſonable Propoſition to ſo *brave*, ſo *wiſe*, ſo *wealthy* a Nation as *we are*, to enter into a CRUSADE for the Preſervation of theſe our *diſtreſſed Brethren*. But I doubt very much, whether even in *ſuch* a Caſe, and I take this to be the *ſtrongeſt* that can be put, it would be perfectly reconcileable to what hitherto have been thought the beſt *Maxims* of *Government* for us to exert our *utmoſt* Strength in Favour of theſe Neighbours, till ſuch time as we were thoroughly ſatisfied, that they had exerted *theirs*, and were unanimouſly reſolved to *co-operate* with us for their *own* Preſervation. I know very well, that the Law of *Nature*, of *Nations*, and of *common Honeſty* oblige States to fulfil their *Engagements*, and to comply with *Treaties*; but I know of no Principles, ever yet laid down by any *ſpeculative Politician*, who wrote even for the Inhabitants of *Utopia*, that would juſtify ſo *Romantic*

Syſtem

Syſtem, as to ſerve People whether they *will* or *no*; to compel them to think as you do about their *own* Intereſts, to *hire* them to *fight* for their *own* Service, to hire *another* part of them to fight againſt *theſe* when they have deſerted your Service, and after they have been *beat* to *beg* them to enter into your *Pay again*. This is not only *refining* upon *Politicks*, but upon *Chriſtianity*; for *he* who bid us *forgive our Enemies*, never bid us *pay* and *truſt* them.

But ſuch as have a *due* Knowledge of, and a *juſt* Eſteem for, the *German* Nation, will be very far from thinking that this approaches *their* Caſe in any degree. They will ſay, and they have a Right to ſay it, that the *Germans* are as *brave*, as *powerful*, and as *wiſe* a Nation to the full as the *French*. They will ſay, that *Liberty* is in ſome Places as much *enjoy'd*, and in all as well *underſtood*, as in any other part of *Europe* whatever. They will ſay, and it is from a Perſuaſion of the Truth of it that I ſay it for them, that the very *beſt* Writers on theſe *Subjects* have been *Germans*. They will ſay, that *France* was never too *hard* for the *united* Power of *Germany* in former Times, when *Germany* was *weaker*, and *France* ſtronger than

than ſhe is now. But when they have ſaid all this, and when we have admitted, what indeed we muſt admit, becauſe it cannot be denied, that all this *is true*, how much will the Queſtion be alter'd, and how differently ought we to ſtate the *Caſe?* If the *Germans* are really ſuperior in *Power* to the *French*, as a *late* Writer has inconteſtably proved they are, how can any other Nation be under an Obligation to *raiſe* her *laſt Man*, to *ſpend* her *laſt Shilling* to *pawn* her Credit with *Jews*, to aſſiſt this Nation *to do*, what without her Aſſiſtance ſhe *might do*, and *would do* if ſhe thought fit? If the *Germans* have right Notions of *Liberty*, and underſtand it as well as other Nations; why are we filled with ſuch *Pannicks* about them? The *Germans* are a ſtout, well limbed People, and I never heard of any body that thought they ſaw a *Pack-Saddle* upon their Backs; why then ſhould we be ſo apprehenſive of their ſuffering the *French* to ride them? or why from the *Terror* of this, ſhould we forget our *own* Love for *Liberty*, and ſuffer them to *ride* us? If the *Germans* have their *Senſes* as well as *we*, why ſhould they not be allowed to mind their *own* Concerns? Why ſhould we take upon us to

be their *Guardians?* And, contrary to the Cuſtom of *good Guardians*, beggar *ourſelves* to *ſerve* our *Wards?* It is allow'd that we can have no Intereſt in making Conqueſts on the *Continent* for *ourſelves:* Does it not follow then, that we muſt have *leſs* Intereſt in making *Conqueſts* for *other People?* If the *Germans* were unanimous, they would *not need* our *Aſſiſtance*; but is there any Hopes of our *beating* them into *Unanimity?* or if we could, muſt we be at the Pains of *beating* them firſt, to get them in the Humour of letting us *aſſiſt* them afterwards? Surely this would be abſurd and ridiculous in the higheſt Degree. But, ſay ſome *wiſe People*, you make the things ridiculous by your Repreſentation. Very well; let us hear how *you* repreſent it.

Why, ſay they, who echo the Speeches of our *great Politicians*, the *Intereſt* of *Germany*, is the *ſame* with the *Intereſt* of *Great Britain.* But there are *two* Sorts of *Germans*; one that are for an *Auſtrian* Emperor, and a kind of *hereditary-elective* Emperor, with a due Meaſure of *coercive* Power over the *Independant States* of the *Empire*, by eſtabliſhing of which *Germany* would become a *proper Ballance* to *France*; whereas the *other* Sort of

Germans,

Germans, for want of having a right Notion of their *own* Intereſt, can't diſtinguiſh between an *Auſtrian Bridle* and a *French Yoke*, but have ſuffered themſelves to be *wheedled*, *courted*, and *bribed* by *France* to their *own* Undoing. It is therefore requiſite for their own Safety, that the People of *Great Britain* ſhould aſſiſt the *right-headed Germans* againſt the *wrong-headed*, ſhould coax the latter to take *their Money*, rather than the *French*; to mind their *own* Buſineſs, and if *fair Words* and *Guineas* will not do, what then? Why we muſt find out a new *cant* Word, ſuch as the *Common Cauſe*, and be as enthuſiaſtically zealous for *that*, as ever our Anceſtors were in the *Holy War*. Now ſhould I be glad to know whether *their* Caſe or *mine* be moſt ridiculous; or whether if the Miſeries of his Country did not hinder him, a Man would not *burſt his Sides* with laughing, to hear it gravely propoſed, that the *Engliſh* Nation in their preſent Condition ſhould ſend their *Troops*, and lend their *Money* to fight againſt *Corruption*; ſhould transform their *able* Ambaſſadors into *Apoſtles*, commiſſion'd to propagate *Unanimity*; and ſhould within *half* a Century after the REVOLUTION, raiſe Heaven and Earth to oblige

a *great Nation* to part with her *ancient Conſtitution*, and barter for *Hereditary Right* an *Elective Monarchy*. But to be as ſerious as theſe Abſurdities will allow us, let us conſider what we *have* been *doing*, what is *done*, and what we are to *do*.

On the Death of the Emperor *Charles* VI. it did not at firſt appear, that there was any Danger of a *War* breaking out about his *Succeſſion*, and therefore it is ſaid our Miniſter at a certain Court, was not treated with *more* Reſpect than he might have merited, if he had come from the *leaſt* of the Electors. But when the Court of *Vienna* ſaw no Clouds ariſing but clear and fair Proſpects on every ſide, ſhe was ſo much *elated* at the Sight, that ſhe reſolv'd to fix the *Imperial Seat* ſtill in her own Capital by exalting the *Grand Duke* to the vacant Throne. This was equally diſagreeable to *France* and *Pruſſia*; this induced the latter to apply to the former; and, upon canvaſſing the ſeveral Courts of *Germany*, there appear'd an *extraordinary Unanimity* upon this Occaſion. The College of Electors ſuſpended the *Voice* of *Bohemia*, to which Kingdom there were then no leſs than *three* Pretenders, and they unanimouſly elected the late

late Duke of *Bavaria* to be their Head, by the Style and Title of *Charles* VII. In Regard to this Tranſaction as *England* had no Share, ſo it does not appear ſhe took any Concern; but as for her *accidental Intereſt*, that went with the *Majority*, and the Emperor was own'd, and treated here, as indeed a *Prince* of his *Rank* ought to be, with the utmoſt Deference and Reſpect. But it unfortunately fell out, that *France*, to countermine the *Projects* of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, had enter'd into Engagements to eſpouſe the *Pretenſions* of that of *Bavaria* to the Succeſſion of the late Emperor, which occaſi- the preſent fatal and bloody *War*. But I deſire the Reader will obſerve, that however the *Election* and *Succeſſion* have been interwoven ſince, they are things abſolutely *diſtinct* in themſelves, and ſo they appear to have been conſider'd by *our Betters*; who both in *England* and in *Germany* ſided with the *Election*; but at the ſame Time took the other ſide with Reſpect to the *Succeſſion*; and thus tho' *Great Britain* in point of Intereſt might not have much to do with *either ſide*, yet by the happy Dexterity of ſome *modern Stateſmen*, ſhe was brought to buſy herſelf on *both ſides*.

This

It was lucky enough for us, that we might ſtill have kept the *War* far enough off, and yet have *fulfilled* our Engagements; we might have ſupplied the Queen of *Hungary* with *Money*, and ſhe of herſelf, as it plainly appears, would then have been able to have found *Men* enough to defend her Dominions. The *War* in *Flanders*, the only part which could affect us, was our *own* ſeeking: we brought it upon ourſelves and the *Dutch*, in order to bring them into Meaſures agreeable to the Court of *Vienna*: And thus that Fire, which while it blazed in one Corner might have been more eaſily extinguiſhed, was ſpread into every Corner, and that by *thoſe* whoſe Intereſt it certainly was to put it *out* as ſoon as poſſible. We ſeem'd afterwards to alter our Meaſures a little, and to be deſirous of *ſtifling it* where it began, when we march'd our Army to *Dettingen*; and by the Interpoſition of Providence found ourſelves there in ſuch a Situation, as might have enabled us to have repair'd our *paſt Miſtakes*, by putting an end to thoſe Expences, which, whether neceſſary or unneceſſary, it is certain we cannot bear, and therefore ought to have got rid of them as ſoon as it was poſſible.

But

But what did we then? Why the very reverſe of what we ought to have done, in the Judgment of every ſenſible *Engliſh-man*, and of every rational *German*.

We then *divided* what we had for ſome time *interwoven* and *perplex'd*; I mean the Affair of the *Election* and the Affair of the *Succeſſion*. We took upon us to negotiate with the Emperor; and when we had brought him to *accept* the *Plan* that was propoſed, we broke with him in the moſt *indecent* manner, not to make uſe of harſher Epithets, as if we were afraid even of a *good Peace*, and were fond of a *War*, the Expence of which was carrying us every Day farther and farther towards *our Ruin*. But *why* did we do this? Ay, that is the *great Queſtion*, which whoever can anſwer ſatisfactorily ſhall be my *Apollo* in *Politicks?*

But tho' I am not able to *anſwer* this Queſtion, or to tell why they *did it*, yet I am able to ſay ſomething negatively, and that it was not for certain Reaſons, which otherwiſe might be ſuggeſted, I will not ſay in *Support*, but in *Excuſe* of this Meaſure. It was not becauſe the Queen of *Hungary* refuſed her *Concurrence*, for ſhe has in the moſt ſolemn manner

ner hand on the Faith of a *crown'd Head*, declared that it was not ſo much as *asked*. It was not from the *Obſtinacy* of the *Emperor*, for he *yielded* to all that was demanded. It was not from any *Suſpicion* of his *Inſincerity*, for the very Terms we preſcribed put that *out* of his *power*. It was not becauſe upon Recollection we thought thoſe Terms *too good* for him; for we have ſeen better Terms given his Son without our *Interpoſition*, and yet we have *approved* and *applauded* them. It was not becauſe the Intereſt of *Great-Britain* was not ſufficiently conſidered; for ſhe had *nothing* to aſk. It was, ſay the Malicious and Diſaffected, as the *Lovers* of *War* call them, becauſe our *temporary*, *accidental* Intereſt was not *ſufficiently conſidered*. The Emperor would not conſent to certain *Secularizations* in favour of *that* Intereſt; and what is to be *ſaid* in *anſwer* to *this* I am yet to *learn*. Certain it is, that if this be a *Calumny* (as every Man ought to wiſh it may) it cannot be ſtiled a *groundleſs Calumny*, becauſe a *Miniſter*, and which is more extraordinary, the very Miniſter who negotiated this Treaty, gave it *under* his *Hand* to the *Imperial Ambaſſador*, that he *firſt* mention'd to him ſome ſuch *Secularizations*

as

as Expedients by which the *Emperor* might purchaſe *Peace*. Very ſtrange indeed!

It was from the *Rupture* of this *Treaty* that the War took a *new Turn*, and we thought fit to embrace a *new Cauſe*. After treating the Emperor ſo *ill*, there ſeemed to be juſt Reaſons to ſuſpect he might be treated *worſe*; and the Fear of this united the *Friends* of the *German Conſtitution* in that which was called the *Treaty of Francfort*. If any Man ſhould call upon me for Proof of this I appeal to the *Treaty* itſelf, to the Emperor's *Reſcripts*, to the King of *Pruſſia*'s *Manifeſto*, and to the *Memorial* of Prince *William* of *Heſſe*; if theſe are not accounted inconteſtable Evidence of the *Matter* of *Fact*, I know nothing that can *be called* ſo; but I know that I have *ſomething* more to produce, which is the *Reſcript* of the preſent *Elector* of *Bavaria*: and he who doubts after that, muſt do it for *Reaſons* that are out of the reach of *Conviction*, at leaſt by *Argument*. From this new Æra we may date the King of *Pruſſia*'s Defection, and the *exaggerated Expence* of the War, which followed from thence. Such as the Subſidies which produced the *Treaty* of *Warſaw*, and the other Subſidies to *German* Princes; to ſome for *defending*

other Folks Dominions, and to others for *defending* their *own*; nay, for guarding their very *Capitals*, which I believe is the *firſt* Inſtance that ever a Man was *paid* for *bolting* his *own Doors*. But to People that have made *one* falſe Step, *Stumbling* becomes as it were natural; and indeed we have been ſtaggering on ever ſince, and have been more than once at the Point of *catching* a *Fall*. Thus much for what we have *done*, and are *doing*: now to look forward a little in order to ſee what we are *to do*.

The Face of Affairs is once more *changed* in *Germany*. After a tedious and troubleſome Life, after endeavouring to ſatisfy all Parties and pleaſing none, *Charles* VII. is in his *Grave*. The great Queſtion now is *who* ſhall be his *Succeſſor*. No wonder that this is a *great Queſtion* to *Germany*; but to ſpeak cooly and fairly what has *Great Britain* to *do* with this Queſtion? It is a Matter of great Importance to reſolve; and therefore I ſhall endeavour to diſcuſs it. Firſt, then, with reſpect to her *real* and *natural* Intereſt, ſhe has *none at all*. If an Emperor of *Germany* be a wiſe and good Prince he will purſue his *own Intereſts*, which he will know to be thoſe of the *Empire*;

and

and ſuch a Prince will be always *our Friend*. But if a *German* Emperor be a *Bigot*, an *ambitious Man*, one who has *private Views*, to which he would make the *Intereſts* of the *Empire* ſubſervient, he may call himſelf *our Friend*, but it will be to *our Coſt*. If we conſider the Conſtitution of the Empire, it requires that no Foreign Powers ſhould interfere in the *Election*; ſo that in this Light too we can have *no* Concern. Take it again with regard to *Treaties*. The Guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, did not bind us to force an Emperor upon the *Germanick Body*, that would be ſeething the *Kid* in its *Mother's Milk*; it would make an *Act* of the *Diet*, deſtructive of their *own Freedom*. By what means therefore are we become *intereſted* in this Queſtion. Let them who maintain we *are* intereſted in it, exhibit their Proofs; for my Part I know of *none*; and I think I can offer an Argument that will evince there *can* be *none*. For either we muſt eſpouſe a Prince *agreeable* to the *Germans*, and then he can owe *nothing* to our *Aſſiſtance*, or we muſt uſe illicit Means to *obtrude* an Emperor on that Nation, which muſt *entail* upon us a *vaſt Expence* in maintaining of him, at the ſame time that we

violate the *Liberties* of *thoſe*, whom we pretend to eſteem and *protect*. This may appear weak and trivial to ſome; but I know many of the moſt ſenſible Men in *England*, to whom *this Reaſon* has appeared unanſwerable.

We run away with a Notion that the raiſing a *certain Candidate* to this Dignity, is a Point of the greateſt Conſequence to the *Germans* themſelves. If it be ſo, the *Germans* are undoubtedly the *beſt* Judges. But let us conſider a little, and ſee if there be any probable Arguments to induce us to believe that if they were entirely left to themſelves, they would *decide* in favour of *this Candidate*. Of the *Eccleſiaſtical Electors*, there is but *one* that can be abſolutely relied on; and we can eaſily call to mind the particular and *perſonal* Arguments that *influence* him. As to the ſecular Electors, the Vote of *Bohemia* is as yet ſuſpended, for *Reaſons* which ſtill *ſubſiſt*. The King of *Poland*, Elector of *Saxony*, if he votes in favour of *that* Candidate, muſt do it for Motives eaſily *gueſſed at*; from Motives that muſt be *conſiderable*, ſince at the ſame time they determine him in favour of *another*, they determine him againſt *himſelf*. The Elector of *Bavaria* will vote to *recover*

his

his Country; he votes as it were *in vinculis*; and it is no Wonder that a Prince ſhould be glad to have his *Chains* taken off. The King of *Pruſſia*, Elector of *Brandenburgh*, is not like to vote for *this* Candidate; neither is the Elector *Palatine:* So that the King of *Great Britain*, Elector of *Hanover*, is the ſingle *free* and *unbiaſſed* Voice, that can be depended upon in ſuch an Election. This is a true and fair State of the Caſe, and I believe no-body will attempt to *deny it*; and from this State of the Caſe it manifeſtly appears, that if this Election *takes place*, it will *not* be *unanimous*, and it is highly probable, will not be *undiſputed*. But whether unanimous or not, diſputed or undiſputed, as *Great Britain* from her *real* and *natural* Intereſt can have no Concern in it, ſo it can never be ſuppoſed that ſhe will intereſt herſelf in the *Event*. I ſay it can never be ſuppoſed, becauſe *thoſe* who are uninfluenced by *Court* Favours, would be againſt ſuch a Meaſure from *Principles* of *Patriotiſm*; and ſuch as are *devoted* to the *Court*, will never incline to ſuch a Meaſure for fear of being thought biaſſed by an *accidental* and *temporary* Intereſt, againſt the certain, real, and natural Intereſt

tereſt of their Country. I look therefore upon this Suppoſition as uncontrovertable.

But if we conſider the *Conſequences* of our abetting a diſputed Election, if we reflect that this will change the whole *Syſtem* of the *War*; that it will involve us in new and *greater* Expences; that it will take from us the *Hopes* of ſeeing an *End* of our Labours, that it will impoſe on us a *Burden* we are unable to *bear*; and at the time a *Burden* we can never *juſtify* leaving upon our *Poſterity*, we conclude that it is a Meaſure *all Parties* will oppoſe. I know very well, that ſome may repreſent this as an *unpopular Declaration*; but ſure it cannot be ſo in *fact*. For certainly no People were ever ſo *infatuated*, as to *hate* a Man for being in *their* Intereſt. A Writer who makes *ſuch* a *Declaration*, as he can do it for no other Motive but *Love* of his *Country*, ſo he can have no *Expectation* of *Reward*, but from *her*; and he muſt have a *mean* Opinion of his *Country* indeed, who if he knows himſelf hearty and *honeſt* in *her* Cauſe, can doubt of her *Gratitude*. And it is from a full *Senſe* of this, and from a tender *Feeling* for *her*, that *I ſpeak*.

The *Ballance* of *Power* in *Italy*, has alſo fallen at certain times under the *Care* of

of our modern Politicians, who have ſhewn as much *Skill* in the Management of that, as of other *foreign* Concerns. Her Majeſty Queen *Anne*, and the Miniſters that ſerved her in the *four laſt* Years of her Reign, but particularly the great Earl of *Oxford*, thought fit at the Cloſe of the laſt War, to give the Kingdom of *Sicily* to the Duke of *Savoy*; in the Poſſeſſion of which if he had been maintained, the *Ballance of Power* in *Italy* could not have been deſtroyed, by either of the Houſes of *Auſtria* or *Bourbon*; and as the Duke of *Savoy* was allied by *Blood* to the *one*, and by *Intereſt* to the other, it would have been a very eaſy Matter with *our* Maritime Force to have ſecured his Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, and to have raiſed a *new Maritime Power* in *Italy*, dependant upon us, and that muſt *always* have been dependant upon us. Yet immediately after the Acceſſion of the *late* King, *this* wiſe and excellent Diſpoſition was firſt *ridiculed*, and then *overturned*; a great Fleet ſent to put *Sicily* into the Hands of the *Germans*, by which we ruined our Intereſt with *Spain*, and rendered our *Trade* with *Sicily* precarious. We afterwards found Reaſons to *differ* with the Emperor, ſuch as they

were;

were; and the Syſtem was again changed, and contrary to all the Principles that had before been laid down, we joined with *France* to deſtroy that Union, which, if we meant to promote a *Ballance* of *Power*, we ought to have promoted. This was the Conſequence of the Treaty of *Hanover*; which in its Letter and Spirit was directly repugnant to both the *Grand Alliances*, and conſequently to *that Scheme*, which for *thirty* Years we had purſued at ſuch an immenſe Expence of *Blood* and *Treaſure*. This ſhewed at once our Wiſdom and our Steadineſs.

But then again we faced about on a ſudden, and by the *Treaty* of *Sevil* ſtruck out entirely a *new* Plan, in which we were ſubſervient to the Views of *France*, and actually brought about all the *Evils* of which we have ſince complained. The Introduction of Don *Carlos* into *Italy*, coſt the old King of *Sardinia* his *Wits* and his *Crown*, by throwing him into ſuch perplexed Circumſtances that he could retain neither. The ſame wiſe Meaſures induced the preſent King of *Sardinia* to act as he did, and to join with *France*. We took no Share in the War that this brought about, but ſat ſtill quietly, and ſaw *Naples* and *Sicily* given to a Prince

Prince of the Houſe of *Bourbon*; notwithſtanding the *Declarations* that we had formerly made, that this was abſolutely incompatible with the *Intereſts* of *Great Britain*. Nay, what was ſtill more extraordinary, we *boaſted*, though with very *little Reaſon*, of having a Hand in that *Peace*, by which thoſe Kingdoms were were given to Don *Carlos*. We have ſince ſeen our Error, have *faced about* once again, and declared with great Warmth and Vigour for his *Sardinian* Majeſty, who if he had been preſerved in the poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, would not have ſtood in need of the *great Supplies* we have given him; nor indeed could that War have ever ariſen, which is now ſaid to render them neceſſary. By theſe *Circular Politicks* therefore, we have been perpetually changing Sides, everlaſtingly embarraſſed, continually exhauſting ourſelves by prodigious Expences, and by our laſt Treaty of *Worms* ſtipulated to purchaſe the Marquiſate of *Final*, for no other Reaſon than to make the King of *Sardinia* a *Maritime Power*, which the Treaty of *Utrecht*, ſo often *condemned* for want of being *underſtood*, had done effectually. All this is ſo plain, that it is

impoſſible either to deny the Matters of Fact, or the Conſequences deduced from them.

It may not be amiſs to lay open to the *Engliſh* Reader the true Reaſons of his *Sardinian* Majeſty's *preſent* Conduct, that we may be ſatisfied he acts upon much wiſer and more ſolid Motives than is generally imagined, and is not entirely govern'd by his *Hopes* or *Fears* of our Proceedings. He ſaw from the *Iſſue* of the late War how little he had to expect from the Houſe of *Bourbon*, and that all his Security muſt reſult from maintaining the *Auſtrians* in the poſſeſſion of their *Italian* Dominions; becauſe otherwiſe he muſt lie entirely at the Mercy of the *French* and *Spaniſh* Courts. They might, and there is no doubt they have, *offered* him as much or more than ever he can expect from the Allies; but what Security could they offer him, that if he accepted their Terms, they ſhould be any longer kept than for their own Convenience? If the Queen of *Hungary* had been diſpoſſeſs'd of all her *Italian* Dominions, he could expect no Aſſiſtance from *her*. The *Grand Duke* would have been in as *precarious* a Situation as himſelf. The Maritime Powers would have left him,

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in conſequence of his deſerting them; ſo that for want of *Guarantees* it was impoſſible that any Propoſitions from *France* or *Spain*, however promiſing, however ſpecious, could ever tempt the *wiſeſt* Crown'd Head in *Europe* (always excepting our Sovereign) to leave himſelf at their *Mercy*. There is no Reaſon therefore to fear, that this Prince ſhould *deſert us*, or abandon the preſent Alliance. He may *receive* Propoſitions from *Spain*, he may make them to *France*, but with a view only to *amuſe* thoſe Courts, the latter of which is wiſe enough to know that he never can be in earneſt, becauſe it is directly contrary to his Intereſt. He has maintain'd himſelf, and he will maintain himſelf, notwithſtanding his Loſſes and his Sufferings, as *long* as it is in his *power*, and when he can defend himſelf *no longer*, we muſt not call it Treachery or Ingratitude, if he makes the *beſt Terms* he can. I ſay we muſt not make uſe of ſuch harſh Expreſſions, becauſe he may retort the Overtures made to, or received from, the Marquis de *St. Giles* at the *Hague*, in relation to the Settlement of Don *Philip*; for if that Prince is, after all, to have a *Settlement* in *Italy*, it will be much the ſame thing to his *Sardinian*

Majeſty, to *whom* he owes it. If ever this Meaſure ſhould take Place, it will be a plain Return to the Syſtem of the *Treaty* of *Sevil*; and we might as well have kept a precarious kind of Peace to this Time, by the Help of *half a Score* more *Conventions*. I mention this only to ſhew, that ſince we are forced to *fluctuate* thus in our *foreign Politicks*, to *change* Sides often, and to be at *perpetual Expence*, it would be full as well to mind *our own* Affairs, to provide effectually for the *Security* of our *Commerce*, and to fight *nobody's Battles* but *our own*; for moſt aſſuredly we have got nothing hitherto by being the *common Mediators*, or as our grand Politicians affect to ſtyle it, *holding* the *Ballance* of *Power* in *Europe*.

But what is moſt extraordinary is, that our *Maritime Force*, or at leaſt our Management of our Maritime Force, has likewiſe *failed us*. We were poſitive of beating the *French* and *Spaniards*, if ever we could *fight* them. We have fought them, and without carrying our Point; partly thro' the *Differences* between our *Commanders*, and partly thro' the *Cowardice* of *Officers*, preferr'd by *Intereſt* rather than *Merit*. We perſuaded ourſelves, that it was *impoſſible* for the *Spaniards* to tranſ-

tranſport Troops, Ammunition, or Proviſions to *Italy*, without there being intercepted by our Fleets, and yet they have done this *over* and *over*, and ſeem ſo little to doubt the Poſſibility of their *doing it*, that at this very Inſtant they have riſqued all their Hopes on that *ſingle Point*. If the Care of taking *Prizes* ſhould once more get the better of the *Deſire* of *Glory*, it is certain they will carry that *Point* of ſo great Conſequence to *them* and to *us*. We boaſted of *frighting* the King of the *Two Sicilies* into a Neutrality; but we *boaſted* of it *only*. And wow perhaps it is his *Turn* to *boaſt*. It was a Point ſettled, that our *Bomb-Ketches* were ſufficient to keep the *State* of *Genoa* in order; and yet in that too we have been *miſtaken*; ſo that on the whole, it looks as if the new Phroſe of *Fatality* might be applied to all our *foreign Meaſures*, to our Negociations and Operations; to our Meaſures in *Germany* and in *Italy*; to our warlike Exploits by *Sea* and by *Land*. If therefore *Fate* interpoſes ſo ſtrongly againſt us in all our Undertakings, to *mend* the Diſpoſitions of Providence, and to keep the Univerſe in *good Order*, why ſhould we not take this *friendly Caution*, conclude ſuch extenſive

Deſigns

Deſigns beyond the Circle of our Capacity, and prudently content our ſelves with what Providence has made our *proper Buſineſs*, the minding our Affairs *at Home*, eſpecially ſince we cannot but be conſcious, that they ſuffer ſufficiently by our being ſo *buſy abroad*, which is perhaps the *beſt* reaſon that can be aſſign'd for *ſome Folks* endeavouring to keep us always *buſy* in that way.

Before we return Home, we ought to take *Flanders* and *Holland* in our way. It has been on all Hands confeſſed, that if there be *any Part* of the Continent more peculiarly under our *Protection*, it is the *firſt* of theſe Countries, and that chiefly, becauſe on the *Safety* of *it* depends the *Security* of the *other*. Yet it ſo falls out that when we have been ſupplying Money to *one* Power, and *Fleets* to *another*, ſo little Care has been taken of *this*, that our *Troops* have ſpent their Time chiefly in being *Spectators* of the *Victories* of the *French*, who could have had no Opportunity of exerting their Arms on *that Side*, if thoſe Troops had never been *ſent thither*. One Year they marched from thence into *Germany*, and ſo *loſt* the *Seaſon*; the next Year, they ſaw *Menin*, *Ypres*, and *Furnes* taken

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without being able to *ſave* them; and afterwards when they were ſuperior to the Enemy, they loſt their *Time* in Marches, and Counter-marches, their very Generals *can't tell why*, but refer us from *one* to *another*. But the Proceedings of the preſent Year *outdo* all the reſt. The Troops of the Allies are commanded by *two German Officers*, and at the ſame Time we ſcarce ſee a ſingle Corps of Troops, except in the *Pay* of the *Maritime Powers*, of *that* Nation in the Field. We have fought it is true, but with *no great* Reputation, except it be that the *Engliſh* Forces deſerved the *Praiſes* of Friends and Enemies. Yet by a *ſtrange Fatality* (and I think the Word was never more properly applied) an *Engliſh Account* by *Authority*, charged the *Loſs* of this *Battle* to the want of *Courage* or *Conduct*, or *both*, in an *Engliſh Officer*. But it ſo fell out, that it was a *Charge only*, and a Charge only known to *thoſe* who *made it*. It aſtoniſhed the *Dutch* when it appeared, and though this be very *ſtrange*, yet what is *ſtill ſtranger*, it aſtoniſhed the *very Army* in which it happened. There was not a *ſingle Officer* let into the Secret, ſo that there was a general Exclamation againſt

gainſt that *Account*, as ſoon as it *came over*. The *Gentleman* concerned, inſtead of *dreading* a Court-Martial, *demanded* it; inſtead of *declining* a Hearing, *inſiſted* upon it; inſtead of applying for *Favour*, asked it as a *Point* of *Juſtice*, to publiſh his *own Caſe*; which if it be not ſo *full* and *clear* as might be wiſhed, may with great Reaſon be referred to the obtaining his *Requeſt*, and publiſhing no more than what he was permitted to publiſh *with Leave*. This however is ſufficient to *wipe* off the *Stain* from the *Engliſh Arms*; for this very Officer appears to have *done* what he was directed *to do*; to have *done* what it was in his *power* to do, to have remained at the *Head* of the *Regiment* that ſuffered moſt, till he was *wounded* and carried off. Thus the Campaign has begun without *Succeſs* in *Action*, and with little Regard to *Truth* in *Repreſentations*. I chuſe therefore to ſay no more upon this Head, that I may not ſeem to beſpeak *Miſchiefs*, or like the *Trumpter* of *Fatalities* to be inclined to *hurt* the *Reputation* of my *Countrymen*, while they are expoſing themſelves to ſupport the *Reputation* of their *Country*.

As to our *good Friends* the *Dutch*, I am convinced they are ſo from Neceſſity, and

and that from the *Load* brought upon *them*, as well as *us*, by the laſt *General War*, they are really in ſuch a *State* of *Dependancy*, that they cannot help *following* our Motions, though they may do it *faſter* or *ſlower*, according as the Conſideration of their *own* Intereſts prompt them. But, however, *follow* they *muſt*. This is ſo far from being an Advantage, either to the *Britiſh Nation*, or the *People* of *Holland*, that on the contrary it is a *Prejudice* to *both*. To *us*, becauſe at every Turn we are told that Meaſures muſt be *right*, becauſe the *Dutch approve* them; as if the *modern Dutch* preſerved much more of the *Spirit* of their *Anceſtors* than we do; or as if this Argument, which in its full Extent would prove *all* our Meaſures *right*, ought rationally to prove *any* of *them* ſo. To *them* it is an Inconvenience, becauſe it gives a *foreign Byaſs* to their *Councils*, and has other Effects, which becauſe of too great Conſequence to *them*, and no way neceſſary to *me*, I forbear to expoſe. But whoever is diſpoſed to conſider them, may with very little trouble diſcover them, in the famous Letters of Mr. *Van Hoey*, who ſpeaks not only his *own Senſe*, but that of a *great Party* in *Holland*; for the *Dutch* have

Parties and *Factions* as well as *we*; and this, though I have little room to ſpare, obliges me to touch on *another* Topick.

By a ſtrange *Fatality* in *Politicks*, we are on *both Sides* in *Holland*; that is to ſay for the *ſake* of the *War*, we are with the *governing Anti-Stadtholdrian* Party; and from the *Marriage* between the *Princeſs Royal* and the *Prince* of *Orange*, we are, or at leaſt are thought to be, on *that Side* alſo. It is eaſy to ſee, that our Meaſures and Negotiations in that Country muſt be *perplexed* and *embarraſſed* by theſe different Connections; and it is likewiſe very eaſy to *ſee*, that is, if we have a *mind* to *ſee it*, and will not be wilfully blind, that from hence ariſe that *Diffidence* and *Slowneſs*, of which we complain ſo much in that People. They have certainly their Intereſt, I mean their *own* real, natural, and invariable Intereſt, as much *at Heart* as any People upon Earth, and for this we ought not to *hate* or *deſpiſe*, but to *admire* and *commend* them, notwithſtanding that, from this *ſteady Adherence* to their *own Intereſt*, we do not always find them ſo *yielding* and *complaiſant*, as we could wiſh.

One Thing more and I have done. It is notorious to all the World, and no Secret to

to the *Dutch* themſelves, that they have what is called a *French Party* among them, though I think a little improperly, becauſe I look on it as certain, *that Party* are far enough from deſigning to make their Country a *Province* to *France*; tho' from Principles that I have not Leiſure to explain, they are againſt coming to *Extremities* with *France*. Now in Proportion to the *Succeſſes* of the *French*, the *Credit* and *Intereſt* of *this* Party muſt neceſſarily *riſe*, and conſequently give them a *greater* Power of *impeding* thoſe vigorous Meaſures, which we are conſtantly *preſſing* upon the *States*; and hence ariſes this great Inconvenience, that what we think ought to *rouze* and *quicken* them, muſt in the Nature of things render them more *tardy* and *ſlow*. This, though in itſelf a Point of the *higheſt Conſequence*, is ſcarce *known*, and conſequently very little conſidered *here*, which makes us run into very great Miſtakes about *their* Intereſt and *ours*, leads us to form ill-grounded and prepoſterous *Hopes*, puts us upon uſeleſs and chimerical *Projects*, and induces us to think hardly, and ſpeak raſhly of People who do not deſerve it; becauſe they do *all* they *can*, and yet we very often exclaim againſt them for *not* doing more. The

Reader will eaſily diſcern in this, and I hope in all other Parts of my Diſcourſe, that I am not byaſſed by *Party Conſiderations*, but ſpeak the *Truth* and nothing but the Truth of *other* Nations and *our own*.

I have now finiſhed my Taſk, and in a narrow Compaſs, and in *plain Language*, given my *Engliſh* Readers, a ſuccinct Syſtem of *foreign Affairs*, which I flatter myſelf will appear ſo clear and conſiſtent with *Facts*, as to enable them to judge for themſelves in moſt of the *political Controverſies* that are daily ſtarted, and with regard to which ſo much Pains is taken by *all* Parties to *miſlead* and *abuſe* them, by engaging them in different Schemes and Projects abroad, purely to ſerve the Intereſts of a *few*, a *very few*, at Home; and this with ſo much Art and Cunning, that even the moſt *diſaſtrous Events* are ſo repreſented, as to engage us only to a *Change* of *wrong Meaſures*, inſtead of *opening* our *Eyes* to the only Meaſures than can be *right*; that is, ſuch Meaſures as are conſiſtent with, and have a tendency to promote our *own* Intereſts. To make this Matter perfectly clear, it is requiſite to conſider the *State* of *Parties*, and the *Condition* of *Affairs* at *Home*; which

which if the Reception of this well meant Treatiſe on *foreign Affairs* ſhall encourage the Author, he is ready to perform. In the mean time, I ſhall conclude with a few plain and important *Deductions*, from what has been already ſaid.

In the firſt Place it manifeſtly appears, that the more we conſider the *Nature* of our *Government*, the *Conſequences* of our *Wars* and *Negotiations* for forty Years paſt, both with Reſpect to *ourſelves* and our *Neighbours*, the more evident and certain it will appear, that our Notions of *directing* the *Continent*, and adjuſting the *Meaſures* of *Power*, proper for *other* States to enjoy, is very far from being *our* Province; and inſtead of tending to render us *happy*, *free* and *wealthy* at *Home*, is calculated to keep us continually *divided*, ſubject to all the *Miſeries*, reſulting from the *ſtruggle* of *Factions*, and amongſt theſe to a heavy Load of *Debts* and *Taxes*, which cramp our *Trade*, enervate our *Power*, and weaken our *Conſtitution*.

We may ſecondly conclude, that ſince we have ſo often *chang'd* our Schemes, and our Stateſmen have ſo much *varied* in their *Notions*, as to our foreign Intereſts, by aſſerting now that we are in Danger from *one* Power, then from *another*,

ther, and drawing us thereby into Measures, that put us upon *bad* Terms with *both*, it is infinitely better and safer for us, to interfere *less* in these Sort of Disputes, and to conceive only those to be our *Enemies*, who *curb* our *Trade*, attack our *Dominions*, or by some other *open* and *undeniable* Act, proclaim their Inclination to *hurt* us. For as to distant Dangers, and such as are grounded only in the Apprehension of *Statesmen*, we see by all the Treaties within the Compass of *half* a *Century* last past, from those for the *Partition* of the *Spanish Monarchy* down to the Treaties of *Hanover* and *Seville*, and perhaps without injuring Truth, I might go lower, they rather *create* than *avert* Evils, and have some of them *brought* upon us the very *Mischiefs* they were *calculated* to *avoid*.

Thirdly and lastly, it is most apparent, that if there be an irreconcileable Difference between *our* Interests, and *those* of *France*, because that ambitious Crown has always *Views* to *our* Prejudice, the most natural and the most effectual Method of securing our selves must be by adding to the *real* and *internal* Strength of this Nation, which can be no otherwise done, than by pursuing such Measures,

as